

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 889

July 10 1953

FOURPENCE (U.S. 5 cents)

● First published in 1936
in association with the work
for peace of Canon H. R. L.
(Dick) Sheppard and
George Lansbury

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THE FUTILE WAR IN KOREA

Withdraw UN forces

By EMRYS HUGHES, M.P.

"IS KOREA WORTH SAVING?" This is the title of an article by Lt.-Gen. Robert L. Eichelberger in the American magazine, News Week.

The General tells us he commanded the Eighth Army in Korea for four years and he thinks that Mr. Syngman Rhee has been encouraged in his recalcitrant attitude by

"repeated statements of certain former commanders in the Far East that we have the capacity for winning a complete victory in Korea and that if we believe these statements there is some excuse for Rhee's demand that the Reds be driven out of Korea."

But this American General is under no such illusions. He tells his readers:

"As one who commanded the Eighth Army for four years I do not believe that a victory could be secured in North Korea

* Continued on back page

US Command in Berlin restrained

BRITISH, FRENCH, STOPPED COUNTER-DEMONSTRATION

HENRY HOLM, Peace News and World-over press correspondent in Berlin, writes during the East Berlin demonstrations that West Berliners made plans for a mass counter demonstration close to the demarcation line.

The American commander agreed to this.

The French commander, however, who is in charge of the Allied forces during June, felt that such action might precipitate violence so great that anything might happen, even the outbreak of World War III.

Securing the support of his British colleague he over-ruled the U.S. command and an order was given not to permit the demonstration. Even so, a loud-speaker car that is believed to be American directed West Berliners who crossed the border to burn and smash shops.

RAILWAYMEN'S PRESIDENT ON THE CALL-UP AND
POWER POLITICS

Conference speech

CONSCRIPTION, war and race oppression were roundly condemned by the President of the British National Union of Railwaymen, Mr. H. W. Franklin, in his address at the Union's Annual Meeting at Paignton on Monday.

Mr. Franklin said: "My fellow members will hardly be surprised if I express the hope that when the present National Service Act terminates it will not be renewed.

"It seems remarkable that with the much-publicised 'freedom' the majority of countries conscript their young men into fighting services and imprison them if they decline to be a part of a machine which has for its basis a training which implies 'kill or be killed'."

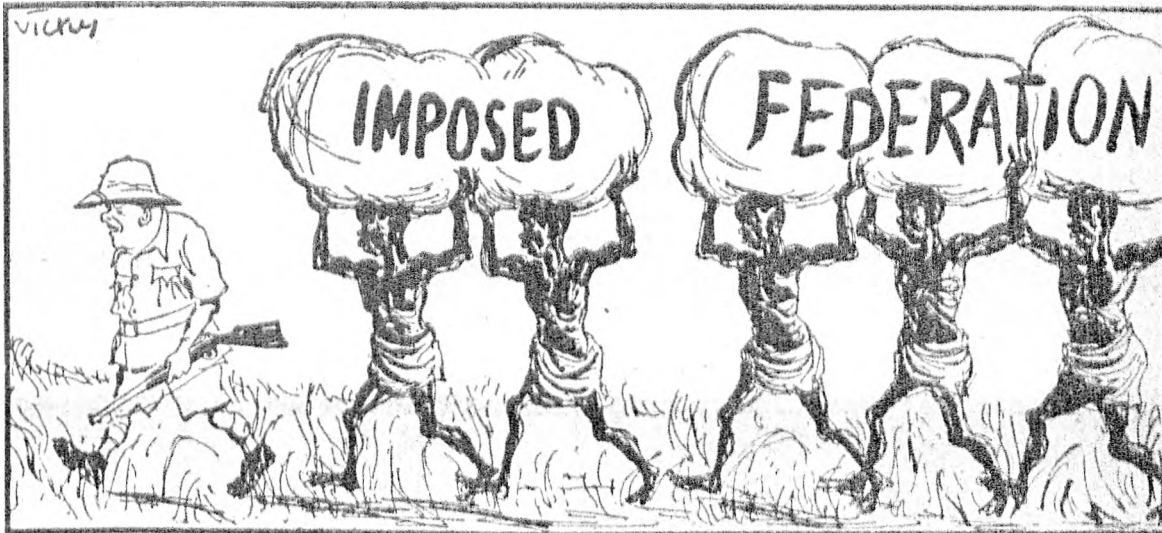
"Truly the word 'freedom' has some strange interpretations in the twentieth century," went on Mr. Franklin.

HISTORY PROVES WAR FUTILE

"At the most impressionable years of their lives it is morally and socially wrong to train millions of young men in the art of using lethal weapons to kill or disembowel their fellow workers in another country.

"Can we wonder that a few, when they return to civilian life, have anti-social ideas and find difficulty in settling down to an ordinary, normal life?"

Turning to war itself, Mr. Franklin said he had often asked himself why it was still regarded as something which could settle international differences.



"To the African the march of man has become a living reality . . . he wishes to take part in it . . . he shall take part in it . . ." — Mr. Oliver Lyttelton

MP tells Trafalgar Square rally

"I WON'T VOTE FOR CONSCRIPTION"

By Tom Wardle

ON a beautiful summer afternoon as cosmopolitan London made its inevitable way to the magnetic West End, members of Britain's major pacifist organisations staged a big demonstration against "the degrading and immoral practice of forced military labour"—conscription.

Few of the strollers in Trafalgar Square probably knew that the National Service Act which legalises compulsory military service is due for review this year.

Clifford Macquire, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and chairman of the meeting, told them. "On this Fourth of July (our American friends will tell you what that means), this Independence Day, we want you to do some independent thinking, some new thinking," about military service, about training young men who have no right to vote, how to kill other men.

Eric Tucker of the Quakers led off for the liaison group, the Joint Standing Pacifist Committee, who were responsible for the meeting.

He argued that conscription had begun as a "necessary evil" which had apparently become so necessary that it was no longer considered evil.

"If we do not stop this thing now, I doubt whether we shall be able to come to you in 1958 (when the proposed new Act would expire) and attack conscription again."

Korea: not worth fighting

Emrys Hughes, M.P. (Lab. South Ayrshire) talked the sound realism for which his constituents chose him.

"We have had the burden of conscription

continued because of Korea," he said. "Now we discover that the war was a waste of time and life. Syngman Rhee never was worth fighting for . . ."

The people were wondering about war. Was there going to be another?

If Sir Winston Churchill was more popular now than two years ago it was because the people assumed that he might be leading the world to peace.

If the people were not to be deluded again, there needed to be some concrete evidence of peaceful intentions all round.

Mr. Hughes' solution: drop conscription; call back all the boys now sitting in other people's countries; offer the unemployed soldiers jobs on the land; build peace at home and initiate a world drive for global peace and prosperity.

A gesture of peace

The Peace Pledge Union's chairman, Sybil Morrison, no stranger to Trafalgar Sq., got up next to ask her listeners if they thought that experimentation with atom bombs in Australia

● Continued on back page

FEDERATION: MANY TORIES ANXIOUS

—Lord Hemingford

IN the Debate on the Central African Federation Bill in the House of Lords on Monday, Lord Hemingford said that as a good Conservative he "opposed the Bill to the end."

He said he was representing the anxieties of a great many Tories in all parts of the country.

"It is not a good thing to take a leap to the dark," he declared. "But we are being asked to take a leap in the clear bright moonshine into collision with a very large number of Africans."

Lord Hemingford has lived for 26 years in Africa.

Alleged police torture in Kenya

AFRICANS URGE ENQUIRY

IN its latest issue of "Diary of the Kenya Crisis," the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism has published material relating to alleged brutality and intimidation by Security Forces there.

The issue contains copies of correspondence between Mr. Dudley J. Thompson, a well-known West Indian lawyer, practising in East Africa, and the Governor of Kenya, involving a complaint by some Kikuyu prisoners (since acquitted).

Pistol threat

The prisoners alleged that while they were in the cells they were threatened by a man in civilian clothes, who cursed and waved a pistol at them and said, "Let any of you move a bit and I will finish him off right now."

In his reply the Chief Secretary for the Colony, Mr. P. D. Major, says that "the officer concerned in this incident was suspended from duty immediately after it and has been charged before a Court with disorderly behaviour contra Section 61 of the Police Ordinance."

On June 10, 1953, Dr. Somerville Hastings asked the Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons about the circumstances of the death of Elijah Gideon who died from shock after a beating carried out under orders.

Mr. Lyttelton said the police investigation had been completed and the Attorney-General was considering legal action.

Confessions obtained by torture

Asked if there were other cases where torture had been used to secure confessions, Mr. Lyttelton replied:

"There are two other cases under investigation now, speaking from memory."

A letter on alleged atrocities by Security Forces, sent to the Congress of Peoples by a group of Africans, pleads that "you will take this matter seriously and propagate it to the world as well as urging the Colonial Office to send the Commission of Enquiry without delay, if we are not all to be killed."

LONDON'S PEACE HOUSE OPENED

THE new home of the National Peace Council at 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1, was formally opened on Monday.

A meeting was held at Conway Hall next by, at which speeches were delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Harrow Cadbury, Mr. Victor Gollancz, the Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, C.H., M.P., and Mr. Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

Lord Lloyd Orr, the President, whose gift from the Nobel Peace Prize award had made possible the acquiring of the premises, was in the Chair.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

10th July, 1953

THE GERMAN QUESTION

ANY ATTEMPT TODAY to plan social advance on lines which respect human personality founders on the acceptance of the need for military preparation.

We are not now referring to the enormous proportion of the labour and resources that is disposed of in armaments construction, although this in itself is a formidable barrier to social advance. What we have in mind is the extended control over the lives of men and women required in the industrial structures of states organised in terms of military power.

When arrangements are made to free Germany from the control of the Occupying Powers should the German people proceed to follow those powers in a policy of rearmament their Government will eventually develop a highly centralised control over its people and their industrial structure just as do the other powers, although possibly with more efficiency.

Before the fate of Germany is settled a general election in Western Germany is likely and there is a chance that this will result in the return of the Social Democrats.

Now the Social Democrats are not pacifists, but they have made declarations against rearming Germany. For this reason we offer the following considerations for an unarmed Germany, which would not only have advantages over the rest of the European nations in the standard of life it could attain, but would also have a freedom in the control and development of its social forms and structure that would not obtain elsewhere.

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That the existence of an artificial dividing line across Germany is incompatible with self-determination is obvious, and pacifists naturally desire that the occupying troops who maintain that line should be withdrawn so that the German people can manage their own affairs.

It does not follow from this however that we should favour a return to a Bismarckian Germany any more than we should favour the preservation of an Imperial Britain or a Napoleonic France.

A united, highly centralised, highly industrialised Germany would be a menace to the peace of the world as are all the other power agglomerations of our time. A pacifist policy for Germany therefore should encourage the break-up of the Reich into something corresponding to the old German States in the hope of a similar policy for Great Britain, France, Russia and the US.

There is still strong sentiment for local autonomy in East Prussia, Silesia, Bavaria, the Saar, the Rhineland and Schleswig (which is mostly Danish anyway). It is a healthy sentiment and should be fostered.

Tendencies among the politicians surrounding Adenauer (reflected also in the East) as Germany's exports grow and her heavy industry expands, show disturbing evidence of power-mania. German neutrality, an essential condition for the relaxing of cold war tensions, can only be a reality if self-government is restored to the States on a full democratic basis. "Self-Government all round" says Aldous Huxley, "is not compatible with military efficiency," just as the centralisation and control over human lives required by military efficiency is not compatible with human liberty.

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The response to a move toward decentralisation might be surprisingly good. Germany could conceivably lead in a movement for the democratic breakdown of industrial-military power in Europe and elsewhere. Pacifism has need of a clear political objective. The World Pacifist Meeting recognised that: "A peace propaganda that is unrelated to a policy of fundamental social reconstruction and human transformation will fail in its purpose in a period when time is fast running out."

Assuming that the attempt to rearm the German people and harness them in the power conflict through NATO can be prevented it is possible that the Powers would be ready to accept such a solution for Germany, but it would necessarily only be effective if the German people wanted it.

This is something to which our friends in Germany may turn their attention and we must try to help them by thinking beyond the catch-phrases of the hour.

Never the right time

THOSE who are old enough to have lived through the two world wars know from experience that it is never the right time to negotiate.

If the war is not going well it is necessary to wait, otherwise it would be necessary to accept a humiliating peace. When the enemy has been forced onto the defensive it is still not the right time to negotiate because it would be absurd not to follow up the advantage that has been gained.

Precisely the same kind of militaristic stultification applies in a "cold war."

Negotiations between the East and the West had to be deferred, we were told, until the West had been able to build up strength. When we go into negotiations we must negotiate from strength, said the statesmen, and particularly the American statesmen.

Now, when American military expansion is nearing its completion, and the Russian satellite states are indicating weaknesses and slowing down the development of the heavy industry upon which armaments production is based, the conclusion that the time for negotiation is now here immediately drops out of the picture; people like John Foster Dulles urge that the cracks in the Soviet structure shown by the events in East Germany and Czechoslovakia indicate that this is quite the wrong moment to enter into negotiations. We must now exploit the discontents behind the iron curtain for our own purposes.

Just as in wartime there is a swing backwards and forwards between these two inconsequential lines of thought until a political chaos that is called "unconditional surrender" has to take the place of a peace; so in cold war we are in danger of the same swing until cold war catastrophically collapses into war without the adjective.

We have to face the fact that in the Republican Party in the USA are to found the most dangerous militarists of our time.

America is the most heavily armed country in the world and its statesmen are coming to make all the old fatal militaristic assumptions. The time for genuine negotiations is now, and we cannot enter upon them too early.

We hope that the spokesman for Great Britain in the preliminary conference of the three powers that opens today (July 10) at Washington will be mandated to make it clear that this is the British view.

Letter from East Germany

WE are glad to print on page four a letter from a young East German Communist.

While it adds little to what we have been able to learn of developments in East Germany it throws a valuable light on the emotions that are now being experienced there.

We are prompted to offer a warning comment, however. Our young friend asks, after referring to the fact that the Government has yielded to the pressure of the masses:

"Very well, if a Government complies

BEHIND THE NEWS

with the justified demands of the masses, isn't that democracy?"

The answer to that question is that compliance with the demands of the majority of the people—whether the Government holds them to be justified or not—is part of democracy; but it should not be necessary in a democratic society for the workers to come out on the streets in angry demonstrations in order to make their views understood.

Our friend admits with contrition that he and his colleagues have been guilty of self-delusion. We do not emphasise this in any critical sense. It was to be expected that a part of the psychological mechanism for personal protection, and we think it exceedingly likely that the British population, subjected to the same pressures would develop the same kind of protective self-delusion.

What makes it necessary to draw attention to his comment is the fact that the question we have quoted from this young Communist follows his remark:

"What our Government and Party and the police have done this week, and done with a certain pluck, would not have been possible in Adenauer's republic."

What is possible, however, is that later on this year at the polls Adenauer and his fellow-ministers may be removed without any treason trials or angry demonstrations in the streets by the workers. If the Adenauer Government is not thus removed it will mean that the West German workers do not want its removal.

We hold no brief for the Adenauer Government. It will give us satisfaction to see it go.

Until a similar transfer can take place peacefully in East Germany as part of the normal electoral arrangements our friend will do well not to congratulate himself on the superiority of that regime. Otherwise he will be well on the way again to that kind of self-delusion which prevents him, while he knows in his heart that things are wrong, from saying so openly.

The UN and Korea

THE position of UN in Korea is becoming derisory.

It has been evident throughout the war that the UN was really an instrument of American policy, but the forms required by the fiction that UNO was in control have been maintained.

Now the attempt to maintain the forms is being discarded.

Dr. Syngman Rhee makes manifest his contempt for the whole conception upon which the United Nations have claimed that they

THE SICK LEVIATHANS

MORE than once I have suggested to audiences in this country that the struggle between modern power states has become a naked power struggle.

The object is power for the sake of power.

There is no defined, rational objective, not to mention an ethical one. Nor is there any restraint upon the means employed, though these means are obviously and admittedly instruments by which nations commit suicide



Letter from the U. S. A.

By A. J. MUSTE

in the effort to murder each other.

Parenthetically, I have also explained that I cannot either in reason or in conscience pay war taxes to the American government since—among other things—I do not want to help arm Russia, which will certainly match any military build up the United States may engage in just as the latter will match anything the Kremlin may produce.

Each might as well give away half its war production to the other in this absurd armaments race.

One is reminded of the observation by Augustine in *The City of God* about "the city of the world" which seems to dominate and destroy everything but is itself dominated and destroyed by its own lust for power.

These reflections are occasioned by contemporary developments which plainly indicate that the power blocs on both sides of the Iron Curtain are undergoing a major crisis, and so far as anyone can see neither is showing any dazzling ability to handle the situation.

We are now witnessing the amazing and in a way ludicrous spectacle that when one

Leviathan takes to his bed with a fever the other likewise takes to his bed! "Is there a doctor in the house," one wonders?

On the eastern side of the Iron Curtain, it is clear that the unrest in East Germany is more than superficial. The crisis in Czechoslovakia is not resolved. The headlines in the evening paper before me as I write this letter proclaim that there has been rioting against the regime in Poland.

Senator Wiley of Wisconsin, colleague of Jolting Joe McCarthy who hails from the same state and who has just told the Press that he may next summon ex-President Truman before his Investigating Committee, told the Senate yesterday:

"The pendulum of history is beginning to swing. Soviet control over its satellites is beginning to crumble. It is only a matter of time until the Kremlin loses completely its sinister influence in the world and becomes the last redoubt for a cringing group of gangsters and felons who seek to impose evil on this world."

However, if one turns his eyes toward the situation in which the West finds itself, one witnesses upheavals there also.

The French domestic crisis is not really resolved, and recent events in Cambodia suggest that her rule in Indo-China is near its end. What will follow, if this transpires, in French North Africa, and in the Suez Canal Zone?

Japan faces crisis

There is still no truce in Korea, and the American regime has clearly lost face there.

A severe economic crisis impends in Japan if the Korean war comes to an end; and whether or not the war ceases, a severe political crisis over whether she rearms on a vast scale and becomes "the arsenal of democracy" in the Orient or whether she is drawn gradually into the Chinese orbit.

Whether Winston Churchill's fatigue is "diplomatic" or not, the indefinite postponement of the Bermuda Conference is a symbol of the lack of agreement on policy with respect to Germany and many other matters among the Big Three. The signs that the American economy may be entering on troubled waters do not lessen.

If a copy of Pravda for today were available, it is more than likely one could read Senator Wiley's sentiments in it virtually word

* Continued on back page

have based their backing for him in the war

Nothing is done by the UN about this, but Mr. Walter Robertson is sent to negotiate with Dr. Rhee on behalf of the American Government.

There has been an Associated Press report that Mr. Robertson has offered an American undertaking to quit the post-armistice political conference and reopen the war if there is no agreement on Korean unity within 30 days.

There has been no confirmation of this dispatch, but the fact that it can seriously be reported as a possibility indicates the depth into which the standing of the UN has fallen.

If there is to be any chance of UN being regarded in the future as a serious factor in international affairs, Mr. Nehru's repeated call for a General Assembly meeting to discuss Korea should be acted upon now. As Mr. P. J. Noel Baker has pointed out in the House of Commons, it is nearly two months since a settlement has been held up by President Rhee and there is danger in delaying further the summoning of the Assembly.

Mr. Armstrong's prophecy

THE present Director of Public Affairs for the US State Department is Mr. Orland K. Armstrong.

Almost immediately upon his appointment according to the New York Times for May 1953 he predicted the release of the Korean prisoners of war held by the United Nations.

Had Mr. Armstrong in mind the new proposals which the United Nations Command were to make on May 25, despite the fact that they were at variance with those already agreed upon by the United Nations Assembly?

The report does not read in this sense; it was release and not further negotiations referred to. Had he some preparations in mind not related to negotiations but to the break-out of prisoners that occurred on June 17, and the days following?

These men escaped we have been told through the recalcitrance and bad faith of Dr. Syngman Rhee, who through the instrumentality of General Won Yung Duk made secret arrangements to ensure that the escape would be contrived without the possibility of UN Command interference; Mr. Armstrong's prophecy seems to put this claim in a different light.

On the same occasion he predicted the release of all Chinese prisoners who desired to fight for the United Nations and remarked that they could be assisted to get to Formosa if they so wished.

Forced labour

THE Committee on forced labour set up by the United Nations and the International Labour Office has issued its report.

It is a document of 650 pages, more than a hundred of which are devoted to the position in Russia.

The Committee has been handicapped by the fact that it had no authority to investigate the spot in the countries against which allegations have been made and has had to base its conclusions on an examination of testimony and documents. It is of course very easy for a Government to show that it has legislation or constitutional provisions that exclude forced labour. Its formal condemnation however does not necessarily mean that it is not to be found.

All 33 Governments in the USSR have refused to reply to the questions put by the Committee. The Russian delegation to the United Nations returned without any kind of annotation the body of evidence concerning Russia submitted to it by the Committee, remarking merely that the documents contained calumnies directed against the Soviet Union.

The USSR apparently took the view that the right way to deal with calumnies is to refuse to rebut them.

The Committee concludes that there is a system of forced labour in Russia based largely on a system of punishments for holding or being suspected of holding, political views at variance with the regime, and this system "seems to play a part of some significance in the national economy."

Forced labour on a similar political basis is found to exist in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Spain.

South Africa

The Report condemns the labour conditions that exist in South Africa. While there is no forced labour on the same basis as exists in Russia and Spain, there exists a "legislative system applied only to the indigenous population and designed to maintain an insuperable barrier between these people and the inhabitants of European origin."

This has the effect of channelling the work of native Africans into agriculture and manual work and it has created a permanent cheap labour force which is in effect "a system of forced labour of significance to the national economy."

Thus by a different method the same result of a specially exploited labour force is achieved in South Africa as is achieved in Russia.

The Committee also finds that forced labour conditions of a similar character may exist in Kenya.

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Will he be held on Ellis Island?

PACIFIST MP IS
NEXT LECTURER

VICTOR YATES, Labour member of the British Parliament and Secretary of the Parliamentary Peace Alms Group is to visit the US on a lecture tour from September to early November.

The War Resisters League, one of the bodies (with American Friends Service Committee) sponsoring his tour, say that being an MP they do not think he will have the same difficulty under the McCarran Act as did their present guest, Stuart Morris, on his recent entry to the country.

Details of Victor Yates's itinerary can be obtained from: War Resisters' League, 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N.Y.

WORLD CHURCHES' NEW OPPORTUNITY

THE SECOND ASSEMBLY of the World Council of Churches is to be held next year during the last two weeks of August, at Evanston in the State of Illinois, in the United States.

The First Assembly, in Amsterdam in 1948, headed a section of its report with the statement: "War is contrary to the Will of God."

The subject of peace and war is certain to be raised again at the next Assembly, Peace News has been told.

End Judicial Revenge

QUAKERS in Philadelphia, USA, have adopted a statement expressing concern over the increase of capital punishment. Arch and Race St., Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, pointed out that there had been no increase in offences in states where capital punishment had been abolished. The statement added, "the whole system of criminal justice must be changed so that revenge and destruction no longer will be the goal."

THEIR TARGET: ATOM CANNON

The atomic cannon, feature of this year's Armed Forces Day in New York, was the target of special leaflets distributed by 14 New York pacifists in the vicinity of the parade.

FIRST BAHAI TEMPLE IN WEST

Members of the Baha'i Faith which advocates religious tolerance and world peace, have opened their first temple in the Western Hemisphere. It is an imposing building at Wilmette, Illinois, USA.

EX-POW discharged from Army

Cpl. Paul Schuur, 24, one of the American prisoners of war repatriated from Korea has been given an "undesirable discharge" from the Army. An Army spokesman said that Schuur had shown sympathy with the Communist line.

Lost and Found

A LITTLE while ago a reader sent Peace Pledge Union Headquarters a donation which represented a share in a sum of money he had been given after finding and handing to the police some valuable property.

Thus out of bad luck for one came good luck for many—the owner, the finder and the PPU—and happiness spread in this way increased manifold.

You need not always wait till your ship comes home before beginning to share out. There are many happy occasions, however small, in the lives of most of us, if you look for them.

To parents it may be the first independent step taken or the first word spoken by their child; to the sportsman it may be the side he has set his heart on winning a great fight; to the gardener it may be the first blooms opening in a bed of flowers carefully sown and tended for many weeks.

The gift you send us in the first flush of your pleasure, though lost for the moment, will be found by us and come back to you in the shape of the work we do which cannot go on without your help.

So, please, watch out for the happy moments and let us share in them, remembering that the joy you give us in this way will increase your own.

HILDA von KLENZE.
Dick Sheppard House.

Amount received to date: £326.

Our aim for the year: £1,000.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund" to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

GERMANY

"AN ATMOSPHERE OF RELIEF AND FREE DISCUSSION"

An East German Young Communist on the June Demonstrations

A GERMAN pacifist contributor to Peace News, who is in regular correspondence with a young Communist of the University of Halle (East Germany) has received a letter from him written eight days after the June 17 demonstrations. The young Communist writes:

"Last week there was something up . . . I do not yet know what is your opinion, so here is mine. Believe me, we are busy effecting a solid and, before all, sincere change.

"My fellow-students and comrades are really glad and relieved by it.

"We had today at our University an open meeting of the Party, attended by many who were not members of it, professors and students. Since 1949 I have not seen such an atmosphere of relief and free discussion.

"The meeting was meant to clear the air in a really free discussion and we all suddenly realised that earlier we never had had any really free discussion.

"It showed that indeed many things are rotten in our republic. The government and the Party, all have made mistakes, and we all are responsible for them.

"I myself knew of many things that were wrong, and I am ashamed now to say that I had not the courage to say so openly. Critics would have to expect certain inconveniences. That is over now; at least I hope so.

OUR REGIME

Collecting all criticism

"Today all the deficiencies of our regime are being criticised, and the Party is collecting all criticism.

"Everybody now does see what a tough policy was carried through by our Party leaders, what propagandistic exaggerations have meant, how deficient our press was etc . . .

"The mistakes were made however with good intentions. We wanted to establish socialism in the shortest possible time.

"For many a man even in a leading position it was all too slow. Farmers were literally expelled from their properties, shops were closed down, people were arrested, prices raised.

"Suddenly the authorities realised that this would not have a good result. On June 9 and 11, a sudden change was initiated. For the first time I felt relieved.

"But on June 17, a sudden event took place, wholly unexpected. The workers began to strike, and go on to the streets. But things went farther. Jails were attacked, policemen bullied and even murdered, flags were torn

OBITUARIES

HE PREACHED PEACE

Rev. EDIS FAIRBAIRN

It is with deep regret that we learn of the death of the Rev. Edis Fairbairn on May 31, 1953.

Originally a Wesleyan Minister in England he left for Canada feeling that the Churches in England did not really believe in Jesus, only to find that the United Church of Canada was very little better.

He was one of the most outstanding of the Canadian pacifists and at the beginning of the second world-war he drafted a statement to express his own pacifism, which was signed by 150 other ministers. For this he was officially rebuked and he was ejected from his own church, throughout the war serving a small rural farming parish. During this period he edited an outstanding monthly pacifist bulletin which went to many parts of the world and was circulated in this country by the Movement for a Pacifist Church.

He later published "Apostate Christendom" which in his own words "represented the substance of forty years effort to grapple with the realities of the Christian Religion."

Copies of "Apostate Christendom," slightly shop soiled may be obtained through Peace News at 1s. 3d. each.

Helped form NFPB

ROBERT JOHN LONG

ROBERT JOHN LONG died at his home in Exmouth, Devon, on May 21, in his 72nd year.

He was one of the original signatories of the PPU declaration, which he signed after 30 years of pacifist work. In 1912 he was instrumental in forming the Northern Friends Peace Board of which he was the organising secretary for 30 years.

During the first world war he was granted unconditional exemption as a conscientious objector and was able to carry on Quaker peace work throughout the war. This included advice to COs and opposition to conscription.

With World War II came greatly increased work both in spreading the pacifist message and in advising COs. He retired from the Northern Friends Peace Board in 1943, but continued his interest in the pacifist witness until his death.

Besides his membership of the PPU he was keenly interested in the work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and he was for 25 years a member of the executive committee of the Society of Friends (Meeting for Sufferings).

down, the pictures of Party chiefs, of Lenin and Stalin, trampled upon.

"Party headquarters were demolished, finally even the Horst-Wessel-Lied (Hitler's hymn) was sung in the street.

"These were no longer striking workers, expressing their discontent. Do you really believe that it was the workers who put fire to their own factory at Nacherstadt?

"You also are an old anti-fascist; haven't you seen similar thing in 1933 or earlier?

AT HALLE

I know what happened

"I know what happened at Halle. I saw who were the most ruthless boys. They were no real workers, but fellows whose bad behaviour I had already seen in dancing halls and other places. The People's Police did not act against demonstrations of the workers, but only tried to protect public buildings . . .

"The Soviet soldiers really have acted as friends. They were not rash with the workers, and in certain situations have acted with a sense of humour that was good to soften the tension . . .

"In your last letter you wrote: 'In this way you never will achieve socialism.' I was not of your opinion, but now that I see you were right, I am the more glad that our Party and government have changed the way of procedure.

"I should like to hear your opinion about this. I am convinced that what our government and Party and even the Police have done in this week, and done with a certain pluck, would not have been possible in Adenauer's Republic.

"One can say that the government have yielded to the pressure of the masses. Very well, if a government complies with the justified demands of the masses, isn't that democracy?"

GOOD BEGINNING

Admitting mistakes

Our German correspondent comments:—

It is known that Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl, speaking to the workers at Dresden, has admitted that serious mistakes had been committed. "We are all guilty," he said. The worst of all had been, so he said, that all available capital had been given to the heavy industry, the armaments industry, while the small industry producing consumers' goods had been neglected. Grotewohl announced that this would be put right immediately.

It is known that the heavy industry from now on will get less electric current and the consumers' goods industry more.

This means that one can no longer say that the preparation for future wars ranks first.

The West would do well not to mock at what the Communists are now saying.

Some papers, full of blind hatred, reacted to Grotewohl's speech by saying that now he himself confirms that things were not well in the Eastern Zone. What matters is that he is willing to make a change, and has already started to do so.

Admitting one's mistakes is a very good beginning, and we hope that the political masters of the West will start admitting theirs soon.

Tanks not the answer

--East Berlin Bishop

BISHOP DIBELIUS of East Berlin has preached a sermon in the Marienkirche in which he referred to the riots of June 17.

It was not the task of the Church to say too much about those events, he said, but he warned the East German authorities that it was his fear that they had not seen the last of the riots. They must not think, he cautioned, that that what happened could be answered by tanks alone.

The answer was to be found in the unity of Germany.

Europeans are so logical!

Extract from reader's letter to the editor of the "Rhodesia Herald" re. Central African Federation.

"The fact that Europeans held many meetings to try and influence voters one way or another is not a good parallelism for Africans to do the same, because such a large proportion of Africans are unable to think logically about it."

MANHATTAN

Wednesday July 15 8 p.m.

Community Church, 40 E. 35th. Street

War Resisters' League: American Friends Service Committee

AFRICA

Priest writes open letter to Christians AROUSE CONSCIENCE OF WORLD

IN AN OPEN LETTER to Christians in Britain published last week in the Church of England Newspaper, Rev. Trevor Huddleston of the Community of the Resurrection in Johannesburg, urges them to arouse the conscience of the world to events in his country.

Unless this is done and African people know now that the Christian conscience is stirring, it is likely that they will lose confidence in the Church for ever.

No confidence

"Let it be said with shame," he writes, "the vast majority of European churchpeople in South Africa are not giving the kind of lead which would inspire confidence in any one."

Father Huddleston asks his readers to protest to their MPs and representatives of the South African Government against the application of the Group Areas Act in Johannesburg, which will "affect 14,000 African families."

"For no other reason than a purley racial one, these people who have—many of them—had their homes in this area for a generation are to be deprived of those homes.

This is not a slum clearance scheme: it is pure and simple expropriation. It is racism in excelsis."

Trevor Huddleston was a speaker at the recent mass meeting in Sophiatown (an African township which is to be affected) where Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, Secretary of Indian National Congress, was arrested by police with drawn revolvers.

It was Father Huddleston's calm attitude and his appeal to the police which prevented an ugly scene.

Patrick Duncan to go to gaol

It is in protest against this latest excess of the South African Government that Patrick Duncan, member of the non-violent resistance movement and son of a one-time Governor-General of South Africa has decided to abandon an appeal against conviction for participation in the resistance.

He will go to gaol for one hundred days as soon as he recovers from leg-operations he is undergoing.

UN to investigate racial situation

THE UN THREE-MAN COMMISSION on the racial situation in South Africa have agreed to accept testimony from Governments of UN member-States, non-governmental organisations and private individuals.

Non-governmental organisations and private individuals should submit written testimony July 30, 1953. Requests for hearings should be submitted by July 20, 1953.

Hearings will be held at Geneva between August 1 and 15.

Tom Wardle, Peace News staff member who was for some years engaged in race relations work in South Africa, has been invited by a number of British organisations to prepare a memorandum for submission to the UN Commission.

His testimony will first be heard by a conclave of the organisations concerned and will then be sent to UN with a request for a hearing.

WHITE "ENTERPRISE" IN NYASALAND

An insurance company in Blantyre, Nyasaland has been inserting large displayed advertisements in the local paper announcing a Householders' Comprehensive Policy.

After detailing the conventional risks which the policy covers, it then prints boldly, "and RIOTS AND CIVIL COMMOTION (including Malicious Damage)."

African Eisteddfod Aids "brotherhood of man"

THE second African Eisteddfod is to be held in Bulawayo this month.

The idea originated in the minds of two Peace News readers who wanted to promote inter-cultural understanding in their country. Arts, crafts, drama and dancing are among the sections of the festival which will do much to keep alive indigenous African art.

The deeper motive of the undertaking is expressed in the quotation from an unknown author on the back of the Eisteddfod programme: "The arts in their expression of truth and beauty are the most potent factor in establishing the brotherhood of man."

Farewell speech by

STUART MORRIS

FIRST-HAND REPORT

IT was a year ago that Peter Abrahams, the South African-born writer of international standing, author of "Path of Thunder" and "Wild Conquest," returned to the Union for a few weeks as a representative of The Observer.

His intimate, honest and, in places, moving account of his return home has now appeared. It makes very interesting reading.

Mr. Abrahams is able, in a manner and to a degree that I have not previously encountered in writers about South Africa, to combine a passionate repudiation of the colour bar and racial discrimination with keen insight into the problem of race relations from the White man's point of view; this is even more remarkable because he is himself a Non-White South African.

Whilst as a political partisan (of equality and democracy) and as a Negro he feels deeply the utter wrongness of South Africa's policies, as a human being he is beyond colour; he is able to feel too the strength, the dignity and the love of freedom of the Afrikaner people in

A review of PETER ABRAHAM'S "Return to Goli" * by Oliver G. Caldecott

spite of their hard, bigotted and unyielding adherence to the practices and the mystique of colour.

"Return to Goli" is divided into seven sections, four of which deal separately with the four main race groups in South Africa—the Coloureds, the Indians, the Blacks (Africans) and the Whites. Throughout his account, which is partly subjective impression and partly objective fact, of the people of South Africa Mr. Abrahams shows himself determined both to support the Non-White cause wholeheartedly and to reject any temptation to support the growth of racialism directed against the Whites.

There are such tendencies, of course, and he admits them and criticises them vehemently.

But there is also a growing tide of determined opposition among the Black people to the evils under which they suffer.

RESISTANCE

Its most recent and most courageous expression was the passive resistance campaign which is at the moment in abeyance. Mr. Abrahams writes:

"If the rest of the world leaves the Non-Whites to struggle on their own, the superior military might of the Whites may crush the campaign . . . But even of that does happen it will not be the end of the story. If this campaign is crushed there will be another, and another, till, in the end, the problem is resolved. Change is inevitable. Left to themselves, the Whites . . . would resist and fight all change . . . to the point of self-destruction. I very much fear that if the non-Whites are to carry their fight for freedom to its bitter end by themselves they may come to regard all Whites everywhere in the world as their enemies or, at best, as people who really believe in all the race ideas of Malan but are only more subtle about it."

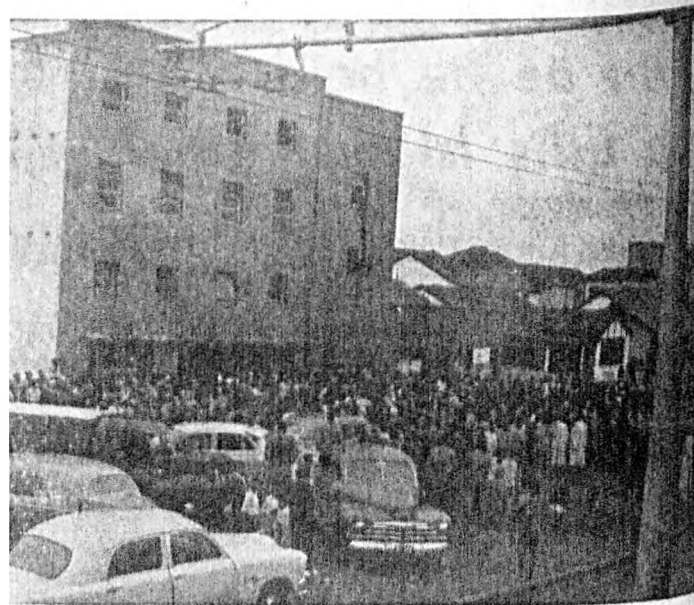
Some of Mr. Abrahams' other comments are worth recording here:

On the Afrikaners: "I am convinced that of all the Whites in the plural societies only

* Faber and Faber 12s. 6d. Goli is the African name for Johannesburg.

SOUTH AFRICAN RESISTERS IN DURBAN

A gathering of Africans outside the Bantu Social Centre, Durban, where meetings of the non-violent resistance movement were held after open-air meetings were banned.



the descendents of the trekkers have made that deeply subjective and subtle psychological and emotional transition in their relations with the African earth that has made pure Africans out of them."

On the United Party: "... It wants to retain the colour bar as much as the Nationalists do, but it also wants industrial efficiency. And industrial efficiency and the industrial colour bar are not compatible."

On the Africans: "The Black peasant in the Union today is, taken all round, more depressed, more miserable and more denied than is the peasant anywhere else on earth."

On himself about to land in the Union: "I looked at my forms. They had changed my status. Twenty-four hours earlier I had been just a man in the world of men. Now I was a special kind of man who was at once less than a man."

KENYA

The short last section of the book deals with Kenya which at that time had not become the hell it is today, Mau Mau having not yet begun their awful operations and the forces of Britain not having embarked upon the retribution of collective punishment, bombardment, mass arrest and "emergency regulations." But Kenya was a hell, nevertheless; a hell in

which, as in South Africa, the majority of the people, the Blacks, saw a future without a share in the wealth (in particular the land) of their country, without an opportunity to play their full part in the government and without the chance of gaining full human dignity.

THE OLD CHIEF

This section, which includes a sympathetic but not uncritical sketch of Jomo Kenyatta ends with Mr. Abrahams' BBC talk "The Old Chief's Prayer" in which he quotes Chief Koinange:

"... We pray that you should lead us to freedom. We pray that you should lead us under your protection and guard us from our enemies. And we pray for our land, for our land is the blood of our life. Look down in mercy God, and hear our prayer."

"Return to Goli," with all its intelligent sympathy and understanding (and despite its faults—a tendency to repetition, some undeveloped arguments and stylistic looseness—is a book for all pacifists to read. It should be read, too, by all who want to be informed about Africa: its very subjectivism, humanity and immediacy bring the tragedy of racial strife home more forcefully than any deliberate, objective, political treatises are able to do.

Do you want to travel?

THIS is the challenging wording on a folder issued by Peace-Builders' Work-Study-Travel System which has recently been distributed to all local secretaries by both the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Too late this year? Certainly too late for carefully arranged luxury travel, for hotel bookings in popular resorts. But not too late to pack a rucksack and thumb your way through Germany or some other European country staying at the Open-Doors of the Work-Study-Travel movement.

If you have a genuine desire to get to know people in other countries, to study their social problems, to see how far we can co-operate with them in building a peaceful world, you will want to know more of the adventurous and rewarding experiences Work-Study-Travel offers.

Write to W. Esma Burrough, 135 Foden Rd., Birmingham, 22a. if you want to travel in 1953

THE EGYPTIAN SITUATION

By HUGH J. SCHONFIELD

Author of "The Suez Canal in World Affairs"

EVERY unsettled international problem means that men's lives are being endangered directly or indirectly; but some problems have a special gravity since failure to achieve a mutually agreed solution could easily lead to the outbreak of war.

The Egyptian problem must unfortunately be placed in the latter category, even though it would be a gross exaggeration to suggest that as matters now stand war is imminent.

In Egypt's case the situation is particularly complicated because three separate possibilities of war exist:

1. Of a Third World War, which in the British view might result from an attack by the Soviet Union if Britain failed to maintain a strong military base in Egypt, and which in the Egyptian view might result from the very existence of that base;

2. That if Britain fails to quit the Canal Zone speedily nationalist sentiment in Egypt may drive the Egyptians into a do-or-die war of liberation;

3. That if Britain does leave Egypt this may lead to a resumption of hostilities by Egypt against Israel.

RUSSIAN THREAT

Does not make sense

Let us consider these possibilities in turn. The first, in the writer's opinion, must be ruled out completely in so far as it rests on the arguments used by the British and Egyptian spokesmen in the Anglo-Egyptian conversations on Middle-East defence held in Cairo in 1950.

Britain then professed to be convinced that Russia was planning a war that would carry her into North Africa, while Egypt was maintaining that Russia would only be tempted to attack by the presence of foreign troops on Egyptian soil.

Perhaps there was some over-statement of the British belief to bring pressure on the Egyptians; perhaps Field Marshal Slim was in deadly earnest. At any rate the British view does not make sense in 1953, and is probably no longer held.

That there ever was any justification for it may well take leave to doubt.

Admittedly if there was war between Russia and the West, Egypt would be unlikely to escape and Britain would be forced "in the interests of her own safety" to defend that country from attack. But that war would have started elsewhere, and from other causes.

"THE HONEST SOLDIER"

Also an astute politician

The second possibility cannot so easily be dismissed. When General Neguib seized power in Egypt, began to institute long overdue reforms, and broke the power of the Wafd, hopes were raised in British Governmental circles of a new Anglo-Egyptian Alliance.

These were to an extent encouraged by the Sudan Agreement and the reopening of con-

versations on the Canal Zone.

But even in the course of these events the "honest soldier" was giving disquieting signs of being not only a patriot but also an astute politician. He was out-manoeuvring the British, and proved to be as adamant as his predecessors on the issue that the "British Occupation" must be terminated.

Egyptian resentment over the Canal Zone has in no way diminished. Britain has continued to pour millions of pounds into the base rendering it impregnable to any Egyptian assault, thereby signifying her intention to hang on.

In vain has the interested United States been able to resolve the present deadlock. Neguib's associates talk of a suicidal struggle. Is this only talk to appease Egyptian sentiment, or is the new President and Premier of the Egyptian Republic prepared to go down fighting for the complete freedom of his country?

He has not set aside the denunciation of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1936 by Farouk's Government, and that Agreement under Article 16 can only be relied on by Britain for another three years.

Will Neguib be forced to begin the unequal struggle before 1956? This may well happen if Britain does not soon make a much more acceptable offer.

Britain on the other hand may be counting on Egypt's serious economic difficulties to bring her to terms. But those very difficulties may help to start a war, a war that might link with other thwarted demands for independence in Tunis and Morocco, a war that might start more war, encouraging armed revolt of the black peoples, war throughout Africa.

PALESTINE CAMPAIGN

A second round?

We come now to the third possibility. General Neguib and his officers have long smarted at the reverse to Egyptian arms suffered in the Palestine Campaign. They have blamed it on the Farouk regime that they were not supported adequately with arms and ammunition.

The Arab countries only endure the present Armistice with Israel. They have never given up the prospect of a Second Round which will drive the Jews into the sea.

Egypt bargains for planes and military equipment, which on the one hand would support her case for capacity to defend herself and remove the excuse for any foreign troops on her soil, and on the other hand furnish her with the means and opportunity if her Arab partners are willing, to fight at least for a predominantly Arab Palestine.

That war, though more remote in prospect, cannot be discounted.

SUEZ CANAL

Key to brotherhood

How great in all these circumstances is the call for wisdom! We can surely see that not one settlement is needed but many. And if

● Continued on Page Five

PEACE NEWS has recently contained articles on the attitudes of various religious denominations towards pacifism, we now publish a statement from a representative of a body of people who most strongly reject the religious outlook and most enthusiastically embrace a secular philosophy of life.

Secularism and Pacifism

By P. VICTOR MORRIS,
Secretary of the National Secular Society

THE NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY, which describes itself as "The Organisation of Militant Free-thought," was formed in 1866 by Charles Bradlaugh, and has always been identified with opposition to all supernatural beliefs as being contrary to reason and inimical to human progress; but, along with its criticism of religious creeds and institutions, it has consistently promulgated a programme of educational and social reforms in line with the most advanced and humane opinions current during its existence.

Its "Principles and Objects" as accepted by all members contain this clause that should find an approving echo in the minds of readers Peace News:

"To promote the fraternity of all peoples as a means of advancing universal peace."

Countering militaristic propaganda

The Society's list of "Immediate Practical Objects" represents the majority views of the members, but they need not be accepted in toto. Individuals work for those they uphold most strongly.

The objects include freedom of speech and publication, legal and economic equality for the sexes, improvement of marriage and divorce laws, abolition of penalties upon opinions, abrogation of laws interfering with the free use of Sunday for recreation and entertainment, humane methods of dealing with social misfits, protection of animals from cruelty and blood sports and so on.

It should be significant to pacifists that at the 1952 Annual Conference of the Society, when the "Immediate Practical Objects" were revised, the following was placed at the head of the list:

"The promotion of peace between nations, the substitution of arbitration for war in the settlement of international disputes, and the countering of militaristic propaganda, leading to the recognition that modern war is futile and can only bring about the ultimate destruction of civilisation."

How members of the NSS seek to realise these objects is left to their own choice, which is natural amongst people who advocate complete freedom of discussion of all questions.

So far as pacifism is concerned, some, I know, belong to the Peace Pledge Union.

Others have resisted conscription and served prison sentences in consequence. Others have temporarily at any rate, held that military aggression makes military resistance a regrettable necessity.

I do not know of any who have emulated the politicians who were "conscientious objectors" while of military age and were supporters when no longer liable for the call-up. I knew a number whose development has been in the opposite direction to this. Myself, for example.

The observed futility of war

Secular, as distinct from religious, pacifism claims no divine sanction for its practice. It rests on the observed futility of war and the necessity of ending the threat of militarism to all human achievements worth preserving.

It arises from the affirmation of the supreme value of free criticism as a purifying agent in social life.

Since every proof of the force of ideas is naturally destructive of blind faith in the idea of force, it is not surprising that many secularists regard reliance on armaments as just another superstition from the past, based on fear and ignorance, to be exposed along with other beliefs they hold to be erroneous and mischievous.

This should not prevent their working with other pacifists against war and the machine, irrespective of the grounds on which others may base their ideals. It is sometimes difficult for them to do so, because bodies of opinion exist in most progressive and humane movements which regard secularists with disfavour and are not willing to allow them to co-operate on equal terms in efforts to prosecute aims held in common. Fortunately this attitude appears to be less widespread than it was, and we have the heartening spectacle of articles from The Free Thinker being recently reprinted in Peace News, and vice versa.

Prepared to co-operate

To sum up, while making no claim that one hundred per cent of the members of the National Secular Society are such ardent pacifists and anti-militarists as its Secretary, I am certain that the large majority of them are prepared to co-operate with other active movements and individuals aiming at the ending of all war by methods that go beyond the customary lip-service paid to peace.

They ask no favour, but they expect fair treatment, meaning the equal right with others to voice their pacifism from the standpoint of their personal opinions.

THE EGYPTIAN SITUATION

From page four

they are to be achieved and the bad mistakes and policies of the past are to be corrected, it is Britain more than any other country which has to set the example by rising to heights of generosity, equity, and positive peacemaking.

She who created an Empire on which the sun never set must now set her hand to the total abolition of Imperialism.

Suez was once hailed as the key to India: let it serve today as the key to the Brotherhood of Man.

Destroy the Canal Zone Base.

Give Egypt goods, not arms.

Sponsor a new Suez Canal Convention by all the United Nations.

WELCOME

STUART MORRIS

BACK FROM U.S.A.

MARY WARD HALL, TAVISTOCK PLACE, W.C.1

Monday July 20 8pm.

Hear about Ellis Island Pacifism in the U.S.A.

Chair: SYBIL MORRISON

Admission Free PEACE PLEDGE UNION

All London readers are cordially invited to meet

Russell Johnson

New England Peace Education secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, and organiser of the new Peace News Sales Office in the United States, who will speak on

Quaker Influence in America To-day

Chairman: J. ALLEN SKINNER Editor of Peace News

Refreshments: Bookstall: Discussion Thursday July 16 at 7 pm

FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE 32 TAVISTOCK SQUARE, W.C.1.

Near Russell Sq. Station and Dick Sheppard House

Tarquay

VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE

Highly recommended. A few vacancies mid July. Also delightful for late holidays. Mr. & Mrs. E. S. White, Nutcombe, Rowlands Rd.

Letters to the Editor

Ellis Island...

THE DETENTION OF STUART MORRIS at Ellis Island accentuates the gradually emerging fact that America, despite her much vaunted freedom of speech, allows the liberty of criticism only to those whose criticism is innocuous and diffused in effect through lack of energy, courage and moral suasion.

Outstanding and forceful pacifists have always been placed under restraint.

An interesting case is that of the Hungarian Jewish pacifist, the late Rosika Schwimmer, founder of the woman's suffrage movement in Hungary, organiser of the International Woman Suffrage Congress held in Budapest in 1913, secretary of the Women's Peace Party, and Hungarian Minister to Switzerland (the first woman envoy of modern times).

On being forced to flee Hungary in 1920 as the result of persecution by Horthy's White Terror regime, she came to the USA. Her pacifist creed remained the motivating force of her existence, and she was penalised for it by being refused American citizenship in 1929.

The Supreme Court upheld the refusal by a vote of six to three. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, who wrote the dissenting opinion (Justice Brandeis and Sanford concurring), pointed out the similarity between Rosika Schwimmer's views and those of the Quakers, and concluded with this classic sentence:

"I had not supposed hitherto that we regretted our inability to expel them because they believe more than some of us do in the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount."

AVRAHAM HADAS

Timorim, P.O. Nahalal, Israel.

...and democracy

THAT'S what I call democracy! These were my words when I read the good news of Stuart Morris' release from Ellis Island to go on a lecture tour in the States after a detention of two weeks.

Much has been written about the questionable democracy of a "free world" that interned him because his activities in the United States would be "prejudicial to the public interest." It certainly is necessary to be on the watch and check all attempts to thwart democratic liberties; democracy is not attained once for ever, it must constantly be wrought for and deserved.

Yet it is only fair that we should also give our full attention to the positive side of the front. The very fact that the Board of Immigration Appeals and the Attorney-General could disagree with the first judgment and cancel it, is a proof that democracy still does exist in the USA.

When I think of the way in which constitutional and laws are completely ignored and trampled in our countries behind the "Iron Curtain"—without any means of appeal—I cannot but admire such an Attorney-General who lets law take its course and cancels the arbitrary decision of a judge to open the way to a man who really stands up for his convictions.

That's what I call democracy!

PREMYSL PITTER

Camp Valka, Nuremberg, W. Germany.

American Viewpoint

STUART MORRIS finally reached Philadelphia last Saturday, June 18. His first meetings all fell down because of his detention at Ellis Island. That was a shocking thing, for which many Americans are ashamed and embarrassed.

I was glad to learn however that he was using the experience in a constructive way, and that it had added zest to his group

SPECIAL AWARD FOR PEACE NEWS CLIMBERS

THERE WILL BE FEW Peace News readers who have not followed with admiration the successful Everest expedition.

The target was reached by a singularly happy combination of East-West tenacity and skill, a symbolic triumph, as Hilary's peace-minded father was quick to remind the world.

You would give your ears for a copy of Colonel Hunt's forthcoming account of it all? Or would you like to earn a copy of this 25s. profusely illustrated epic, free of charge?

One of our special friends offers a copy on publication to the reader contributing the best letter on "How I Obtained Four Trial Subscriptions to Peace News."

Letters, which should not exceed 100 words, must reach 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, not later than August 10 and may be serious, humorous, fictional, poetry or prose, providing that they have attached the names and addresses of four trial readers and a remittance of four half-crowns, for nine weeks' special rate postal supply to each person.

The winning letter will be published in the issue of August 21.

Peace News and its readers also have a high goal before them, the very peak of human achievement, world-wide peace and fellowship.

On the way up it's often dull, and particularly dangerous when you start slipping backwards, as Peace News is today. But it is devoted and persistent effort which will bring us, or some future generation, to the summit of our Everest.

But we must work and sacrifice all the way, and it is not merely a competition that we invite you to enjoy when appealing for special sales efforts.

IS IT NOT TRUE THAT YOU COULD GET FOUR NEW READERS TOMORROW IF YOU SET YOUR HEART ON IT?

At least you could send ten shillings to introduce PN to sympathetic acquaintances.

Come on, you armchair mountaineers, who will race to the top?

H. F. M.

Circulation last week: 11,000

discussions.

It was the hottest day of the summer season—96 in shade—and the meeting was very unexpected but some eager listeners went a good many miles to hear him.

He was well, full of enthusiasm over his trip, and made an excellent speech of over an hour.

We could wish that the governments concerned might go forward with the sacrifices he suggested—recognition of Peking; release of

Hong-Kong; freedom for Indo-China; internationalization of waterways, etc., etc.

ELLEN STARR BRINTON.

Valley Deep,

Crum Creek Rd.,

Media, R.D., Penn., USA.

Community life

I DOUBT if your reviewer, Mr. J. P. Hogan (Have Pity for the Damned, PN June 3), has had first hand experience of community life.

I suspect that the reading of this novel has confirmed his prejudices in favour of "keeping to himself" and against the self-discipline and effort required for living in community.

His claim that "community fails unless it is disciplinarian, monastic and celibate" is not borne out in our small community (54 souls and 13 more on the way) where quite ordinary people have made progress in living down the temptations to excessive self-assertion, domination, "monasticism" and celibacy!

We have abolished private ownership and private profit and practise equal responsibility and limitation and equality of income with integration of work and worship, education and service, industry and agriculture. Yet the family is the basic unit and each family manages its own household.

Mr. Hogan's claim that "for most of us the community of the organic family unit, of our immediate kin and kin, is as much as we can cope with" will receive the enthusiastic support of the overwhelming majority who give their whole attention to the nurture, comfort, security and advancement of themselves and their families and are quite content to let the rest of the world go hang.

It is terribly easy for all of us to give lip-service to ideals of peace and brotherhood while directly or indirectly making demands for or assuming the right to comfort, security and the rising standards of living that add up to the world as it is.

If we can only cope with our own kin it is rather airy-fairy to talk about pacifism or peace at all. But we do, in fact, cope with many others every day. "No man is an island to itself entire." And the capacity for "coping" can be increased.

The new world we seek can be constructed only by effort from the ground level upwards. If Mr. Hogan has a better clue to the way forward I would like to know of it. If he hasn't, I invite him to come and try ours!

A. C. BARRINGTON

Riverside Community, Lower Moutere, New Zealand.

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This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

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DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

Monday, July 20

COVENTRY: 2.30 p.m.; 87 Stoney Rd. Mr. J. Nagel. Problems facing India's Government. PPU.

Wednesday, July 22

LONDON, W.3: 7.30 p.m.; 3 Allison Rd., Acton, W.1. Hilda von Klenze. "The situation in Germany." Regular meetings of this group fourth Wednesday in month at above address. Secretary: Margaret Tins, 137 Fowlers Walk, W.5. PPU.

Thursday, July 23

HAMPSHIRE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, 120 High St. Council. Regional Stamp, Chairman, London County Council Housing Committee. "Housing Londoners." PPU.

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Note to Newsagent—PEACE NEWS is published weekly as a national newspaper at the retail price of 4d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers, at 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WHIGH House Church, Duke Street, near Bond Street Tube. Sunday at 7 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Collman, MA, B. Litt.

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DON'T FORGET that your Peace Day Greetings must be received at Peace News Office by July 22. Rates: 15s. per single column inch or 7s. 6d. for minimum of half-an-inch.

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ECONOMY LABELS 4 1/2" x 4 1/2" publishing Peace News: excellent envelope savers, 1s. 8d., 100; 15s. 1,000, post free. Sample on request. Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London N.4.

LITERATURE

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leicestershire.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London.

VOICE OF THE WORLD CITIZEN, 2d. per month or 3s. 6d. per annum, post free. From Crusade for World Government, 20 Buckingham St., London, W.C.2.

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The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a voluntary employment agency if the applicant is a man aged 18 to 64 or a woman aged 18 to 59 inclusive unless he or she, or the employer, is exempted from the provisions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1953.

FINANCE OFFICER required for London office of international voluntary organisation to commence September 1. Salary by arrangement, but necessarily limited. Please apply for particulars and application form to Box No. 493.

RECORDS CLERK wanted for PPU Headquarters Office, quiet and woman, shorthand and typewriting essential. Apply by letter direct to Sybil Morrison 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

SHORTHAND TYPIST required, 3 hrs. per evening, 3 evenings per week, at 25s. per week, for voluntary peace organisation. Good speed essential. Box No. 498.

VOLUNTARY HELPERS urgently needed at Peace News office. 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday to Friday, up to 9.30 p.m. Wednesday evening. No special experience necessary. One unique (Finsbury Park Station, 3 Blackstock Road) above Fish & Cook, stationers, N.4 or phone STANDARD 111 2284.

MISCELLANEOUS

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 225 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Bude, Middlesex.

DIARY

This is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We cannot guarantee to make it as complete as we reasonably can, and therefore we reserve the right to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

ABBREVIATIONS: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship; APP: Fellowship of Reconciliation; Methodist Peace Fellowship; MPF; Council for Peace and Democracy; CPD; Peace Council; PWC; Peace Pledge Union; PPU; Society of Friends; SoF.

Saturday, July 11

LONDON: 2.30 p.m.; Piccroft College, 100 Oak St. Annual Garden Party. J. Allen (chair). Peace News. PPU.

FAIRLIGHT-on-SEA: 3.30 to 7.30 p.m. approx.; Friends' Meeting House, Dundonald Drive, S. 1. Area Summer Rally. 6 p.m. Rev. Peter Worsnip. Vicar of Hornchurch. "The Peace of Christian Pacifism today." ForR.

GLASGOW: Picnic and tea at Grenwood Park, Penstone Rd., Greenock, Fife. 1s. 6d. (incl. bus). In aid of Sheffield Family Settlement. Greenock bus to Norfolk Arms. Further details from Winifred Mason, 6a Greenock, Sheffield, 10. PPU.

Sunday, July 12

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Open-air meeting. Greenock Park Gate. Every Sunday. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.; Speakers' Corner, Marble Arch. Open-air meeting. PPU.

LONDON, N.W.11: 2.30 p.m.; King Alfred School, North End Rd. (near Golden's Green). London Area PPU Garden Party. 4.30 p.m. N. London v. S. London PPU. 6 p.m. Children's and adults' sports, tug-of-war, community dancing, etc. Admission Children free. PPU.

MANCHESTER: 3 p.m.; Platt Fields. Open-air meeting. Fred Barton. Manchester Peace Fellowship.

LEICESTER: 12 noon; Harringway, 125, Five Ways. South East Area PPU.

Wednesday, July 15

LONDON: 7 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House. Discussion. "The Crisis in the Middle East." Regular meetings of this group at 7 p.m. on Wednesdays. Further details from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

h Africa, the majority of the saw a future without a (in particular the land) about an opportunity to the government and without full human dignity.

OLD CHIEF

high includes a sympathetic sketch of Jomo Kenyatta's IIBC talk "The Old Chief" in which he quotes

y that you should lead us rrvant Moses out of bondage pray that you should protectio and guard us from id we pray for our land, blood of our life. Look and hear our prayer."

cles on nations it from strongly stically

Pacifism

ed conscription and serv consequence. Others have y rate, held that military resistance a regre

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not from religious, pacifist anction for its practice. ed futility of war and the threat of militarism nents worth preserving.

affirmation of the supreme ism as a purifying agent

of the force of ideas in e of blind faith in the not surprising that many reliance on armaments, ition from the past, ance, to be exposed along they hold to be erroneous

prevent their working aga inist war and the e of the grounds on which eir ideals. It is sometimes do so, because bodies ost progressive and human egard secularists with dilling to allow them al terms in efforts l in common. Fortunately to be less widespread t to the heartening spectacle of the Freethinker in Peace News, and vic

erate

le making no claim that nt of the members of the Society are such ardent litarists as is its Secretary. he large majority of these operate with other active individuals aiming at y methods that go beyond service paid to peace. our, but they expect the equal right with others from the standpoint of

The futile war in Korea

* From page one

without prohibitive losses and dangers which would increase nine by nine should a penetration be successful and an advance towards the Yalu follow. There would be a chance of bloody defeat.

"President Rhee has talked of fighting alone. In this case a Red victory would not be long delayed. Even if we gave the South Koreans the support of our air, navy, artillery and other units—and let's not forget that we have enjoyed continuous air support over the front while the Reds have had none—the result would be stalemate."

So that there are very strong military reasons why responsible American military opinion is not backing Syngman Rhee's demand that the war should continue until the Chinese are forced to withdraw from North Korea.

The General goes on to say:

"Rhee is not reported as retreating from his extreme stand. That may be because he realises that otherwise we would have little recourse except to sign a separate truce, withdraw forces, and leave him to fight the war alone as he demands."

"This would indeed be a bitter pill for us to swallow."

"However, it would not do us any great harm in the strategic sense. I am convinced that the security of Japan is not a major reason for continuing the war, providing we can now reach an honourable peace. And peace with honour does not necessarily mean the indefinite appeasement of Syngman Rhee."

So after three years of destructive war in Korea this General is resigned to leaving Syngman Rhee to his fate if he wishes to continue the struggle.

Two million homeless

No wonder he has turned his capacity for vituperation against the Americans who have now realised that they cannot gain a military victory in Korea.

What the war in Korea has meant to the people of that tragic country has been vividly summed up by Patrick O'Donovan in his despatches recently published in *The Observer*.

In his article on June 21 he wrote:

"War has run like a harrow four times up and down the country."

"In this process the cities of the North were virtually wiped out. The destruction has been more complete than any in Europe. Before the war, the population of the North was reckoned as 9,000,000; today it is probably nearer 3,000,000. Four million refugees walked over the hills into the South. Here 2,000,000 are still homeless. A million and a half civilians have died as a result of gunfire, starvation and exhaustion."

"For two years nearly 4,000,000 have relied for their basic grain rations on a United Nations dole. Sixty-nine million dollars have been spent to keep the South Koreans barely alive. Four hundred thousand homes have been destroyed. There are 100,000 known orphans and some 30,000 of them are in orphanages. There are 16,000 amputees from the Republic of Korea Army and facilities for about a third of them. By the latest count, their army has suffered a total of 257,000 casualties."

"In effect, the United Nations are faced with the problem of constructing a new economy."

Could anything have demonstrated the complete futility of modern war more than the last three years of Korea?

What have the Koreans gained by it?

What have the United Nations gained by it?

What have we gained by it?

What has anybody gained by it?

Half our soldiers who have been fighting in Korea have been National Service men.

One wonders what the relatives of the 136,000 American casualties can be saying now when they read an article, "Is Korea worth saving?"

What every intelligent human being in the USA and Britain should be saying now is: "Stop the war whether Syngman Rhee agrees or not."

UNO should declare for the ending of hostilities, the withdrawal of all soldiers and the setting up of a Korea Reconstruction Commission on which all nations which have fought should have representatives. Without United Nations' and especially American aid Syngman Rhee's government would not continue the war for a week.

So let us press for an immediate peace and no more support for wars in the Far East or anywhere else.

LETTER FROM USA

● From page two

for word: "The pendulum of history is beginning to swing . . . the cringing group of gangsters and felons in the Pentagon," etc.

Where the forces are so vast and complex and the ordinary person lacks so much essential information—as do even the top "policy makers" on both sides, very likely—it is hazardous to speculate on the "meaning" of events and to try to discern trends. For what it may be worth, this is how I feel about the present situation.

Both sides weakened

It is, from one standpoint, a clear advantage that both sides should be at least momentarily shaken and weakened. It seems most unlikely that either wishes to precipitate an immediate crisis or risk the outbreak of general war.

However, the danger that desperation—perhaps over a severe political crisis in the Soviet bloc or the threat of an economic collapse in the United States—might lead to tragedy should not be overlooked.

The appeal to governments to negotiate should certainly be pressed, but we should be on guard against subjective and over-optimistic evaluations of the actions of power politicians. (Faith in "that of God" in them means faith that they can turn to God and cease to be power politicians, not faith in power politics.) I regret that I do not see signs of eagerness to negotiate in Mr. Dulles' Department, for which Senator Wiley is probably a mouthpiece.

A basic resolution of the crisis requires two things: the abolition or drastic reformation of the dictatorship in Russia and the abolition or drastic reformation of American monopolistic and predatory capitalism. It is too soon to say that either of these requirements is being met.

KNUCKLE-DUSTERS

Mr. Justice Finmore sentenced . . . a National Serviceman to eight months imprisonment for inflicting grievous bodily harm on another man by hitting him with a knuckle-duster. The man said he found the knuckle-duster in a barrack-room at the camp . . . The Judge said it was alarming to think that he just found a knuckle-duster in a barrack-room. "You must know," he said, "that this country will never tolerate the use of such weapons" . . . A statement issued by Western Command said that a few men with criminal habits sometimes found their way into units under the National Service system.

—Daily Telegraph, July 3, 1953.

It is proverbial that Judges in this country are past masters of the art of forcing an explanation by refusing to understand colloquialisms, but Judge Finmore seems to have surpassed even that technique of deliberate ignorance in his recent remarks to the National Serviceman whom he sentenced for a violent attack upon a fellow human being.

It is, perhaps, a matter for thankfulness that someone other than those of a tiny minority, is "alarmed" by the fact that a vicious weapon such as a knuckle-duster is to be found, apparently just lying around in a barrack-room. But it is a little disingenuous to speak as though the weapon were one the use of which this country would never tolerate.

Perhaps Mr. Justice Finmore adds to the other quite ordinary things that Judges in this country do not know, a lack of any knowledge of Commands, their weapons, and their training.

It is not so very long ago that an escaped Borstal boy when recaptured with a knuckle-duster in his possession, said that he had stolen it from one of the Borstal officers. The officer in question told the Court that it had been allocated to him when he served as a Commando.

In fact this country *does* tolerate the use of such weapons. It is useless to deny that the British, like any other peoples preparing for war, will tolerate any weapon from knuckle-

dusters to atom bombs if it is considered expedient to use them, and necessary for the defeat of an enemy.

The Western Command, when it happens to justify and explain the fact that criminals are among those conscripted to the Service under the National Service Acts, states naively, that these men "have found their way in."

The truth is that no one finds his way in the Army under National Service regulations on the contrary, everyone is compelled to come in, and it is alleged that this is necessary and also democratic.

Moreover those who advocate conscription constantly assure the doubters that the Army education, physical training, comradeship and discipline make "a better man" of the conscript. Yet it now appears that boys of may be in close and communal comradeship with men of "criminal habits."

This aspect of the "better man" argument is seldom mentioned, but it can scarcely be denied that a young boy not long out of school, can be very easily influenced by suggestion of adventure or excitement, and an act of violence within the environment of atmosphere of Army training would probably produce the same revulsion as would if it took place outside his own door.

However much the advocates of conscription may choose to wrap it up, the core of the wrapping remains unchanged; men are conscripted to learn how to fight and for other reason whatever. The use of the bayonet, perhaps one of the most vicious of hand-to-hand fighting weapons, is still part of Army training; its sharp, two-edged biting steel attached to a rifle of considerable weight; the lunge of a knife in the hand is as nothing as the drive of a man's weight behind his rifle with a bayonet attached.

Boys under training are exhorted to imagine that the sacks into which they plunge their death-dealing steel, are men. Yet, this country which will consent to boys being compelled to learn the use of such weapons, which will allow them to learn also how to operate weapons of mass destruction, will not, according to a Judge of the Assizes, tolerate the knuckle-duster.

The sentenced man in this case may well be a criminal of the worst type, but he found his weapon ready to his hand in the barrack-room and was not, apparently, influenced by much vaunted discipline of the army.

Peace will not be achieved by training people in the methods of war, but only by persuading them to the methods of peace. "Deeds not words," we bawl through the implacable folds of the Iron Curtain, but it is more than time for Britain to undertake a positive and unmistakable deed of peace, by refusing the right of its Government to compel boys to learn the hideous art of killing. Six months it may be too late. Now is the time.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE

● From page one

(scheduled for next year) bespoke peaceful intentions on Britain's part.

We had asked Russia for deeds, not words. What were we prepared to do to show that we meant peace-business?

"Supposing" she said with the casual charm of one to whom the idea has just occurred, "supposing at the end of this year our Government decided to abolish the National Service Act, would that not be a gesture of peace?"

Getting used to the idea, Sybil Morrison warmed up, "Why, it would ring around the world; unlike any other powerful country, Britain no longer believes in armies, she believes in a better way to peace. That's how it would be."

"Do you want it that way?" she challenged. The crowd shifted from one foot to the other. A bunch of soldiers going past shouted, "keep at it."

Would Christ drop A-bomb?

Francis Noble, Church of England vicar, spoke next. Christianity, democracy, these were his reasons for being against conscription. Some people had said it so often that it might sound trite, but it was still the number one question, "Would Jesus Christ drop an atom bomb?"

Just over the way from where Francis Noble spoke was the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields where Dick Sheppard, beloved founder of the Peace Pledge Union, used to preach.

The old stones must have vibrated to the same thrill of conviction as Francis Noble summed up his feelings, "Conscription is a wicked thing!"

Youth should demand freedom

To wind up the afternoon, Victor Yates, M.P. (Lab. Ladywood, Birmingham), climbed the rostrum.

The old men in the House of Commons who clamp down this forced service on youngsters were not subject to the same unfreedom themselves, he began. The young people should be more alive to the sacredness of freedom; they should demand release from this dreadful thing, conscription.

"I'm against it, root and branch," said Victor Yates. "I have told my constituents that they needn't have me as a candidate for the next election if they don't like, but I will never cast my vote for conscription!"

At this the crowd clapped its approval. Victor Yates believes that people can do what they want to do, and if they want to build peace they can build it. If they want to put an end to unprincipled things such as this evil Act, they can do it.

"Go from this meeting," he enjoined his intent hearers, "determined to stand or fall by principle, and in the end, the world will follow you."

LONDON AREA PEACE PLEDGE UNION

★ GARDEN PARTY

SUNDAY July 12 at 2.30 p.m.

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THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

Appeal from Budapest meeting

ON June 15 the World Peace Council met at Budapest. About 250 people from 50 different countries were present. When the meeting opened it seemed that at last there would be an armistice in Korea and that the killing and destruction would come to an end.

JULY 22

is the dead-line for your PEACE DAY GREETINGS to reach Peace News Office.

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7s 6d minimum of half-inch

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P.P.U. GARDEN PARTY
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hear Allen Skinner (Editor "P.N.")
Plenty of attractions for all Refreshments
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The new weekly, Fourpenny, *Tribune* brings you open discussion of the issues facing the Labour Movement, factual accounts of the impact of a Tory Government on ordinary people and the real facts about what is happening abroad. The Editorial Board are Jennie Lee, Michael Foot, Ian Mikardo and J. P. W. Mallalieu. Help to keep this independent socialist newspaper going, by ordering now.

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Churchill's proposals for talks with Soviet leaders, the support of these proposals by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers opened up vistas of the end of the cold war and its concomitant burdens of re-armament.

Our measure of hope was the measure of our dismay when we heard that Syngman Rhee had let out 25,000 Prisoners of War.

Then came the reports of riots in East Germany.

Another event which cast a gloom over our proceedings was the execution of the Rosenbergs. One of the Pastors present read a statement and we stood in silent homage for these two brave people.

Notwithstanding these setbacks to the high hopes with which we had opened our meeting, those present decided not to indulge in any recriminations and to conduct discussions in such a way as to foster peace by calling for the settlement of all disputes in all countries by negotiations between the Governments concerned.

A Declaration adopted by the meeting calls for negotiations, to bring about an armistice and peace in Korea; to end the wars and use of force against the peoples who are fighting for national independence and equal rights; to unify Germany; and to conclude peace treaties with Germany and Japan recognised by all interested countries.

It calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from all countries; halting of the arms race; the reduction of armaments; and the use of the resources of individual countries to improve living standards. It calls for trade between all countries on the basis of equality and for their mutual benefit.

The meeting issued this Appeal:

"A great hope has been born. Everybody now sees that agreement is possible. The slaughter can be ended. The Cold War can be stopped."

"In this hour we solemnly call upon the peoples to demand of their governments that they negotiate and agree."

"It is for us all to support every move—from whatsoever government it may come—to solve disputes by peaceful means. It is for us all to frustrate the efforts of those who prevent or delay agreement."

"Peace is within our reach. It is for us to win it."

JESSIE M. G. STREET.

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in your witness for peace

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Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.
Peace News Ltd. Printed by The Goodwin Press (LTD.)
135 Fonthill Rd., London, N.4.